

June 1954

Fellowship



KIRBY PAGE

Retreat Leader

Catholic Church Rethinks War by M. Harrington

ff Two of this month's articles are concerned with our Catholic brethren. One covers the contribution of the Catholic Worker movement, an important progressive wing of the Roman Church, which, fortunately for us, has its radiating center in lower Manhattan. Our staff artist visited 223 Chrystie Street to catch the spirit of the place with the far side of his sketching pen. . . . Many of us ignorant of the discussion going on within the Church on the morality of war and the problems presented to adherents of the "just war" doctrine by the production and use of mass obliteration weapons will be grateful to Michael Harrington for his informative *The Catholic Church Rethinks War*. . . . *Peace News'* Tom Wardle lives up to his promise to write periodically for us with a brief review of the Welsh Nationalist party, Plaid Cymru. . . . While Hugenholtz of Holland, one of that country's outstanding pacifists, writes of his wartime testing of faith. . . . As our meditative piece we have *Power Houses*, the conclusions of Kirby Page on the possibilities for strengthening fellowship and sharpening religious awareness through prayer retreats.

FELLOWSHIP

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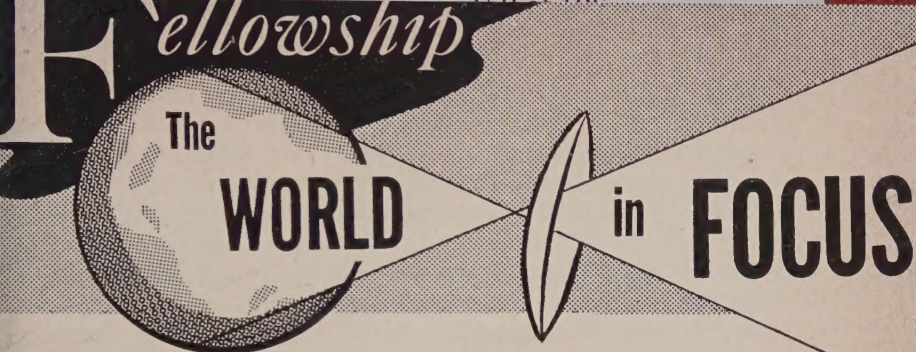
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Fellowship



The WORLD in FOCUS

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Indo-China

There is little to be gained from adding more words to the millions being written and spoken about the crisis in Indo-China. Pacifists have no particular insight into Indo-China beyond their insight into the total world struggle; as with Korea, they have no solution to propose short of the revolutionary proposals they would offer to cope with that world struggle.

The temptation is strong to be scornful of the "stupidity" of the government in dealing with these successive crises, but they are not stupid men who run the State Department. They are men confronted at each step with almost equally intolerable alternatives. Each mistake they make is the fruit of the mistakes that went before, and the seed of those that will come after.

The men in the State Department know quite well the disadvantages of appearing as the defenders of colonialism in Asia—which is the role we *are* playing in Indo-China—but by the logic of war that rules our lives the abandonment of colonialism is quite as impossible. The Viet Minh, whatever the purity of its beginnings, is now unquestionably Communist-oriented, and its victory would be interpreted throughout Asia as a Communist victory.

Such a victory would open every other colonial area to successful Communist penetration, would alienate our imperial allies—France, Britain, Spain—and would endanger many of our own military bases and sources of strategic raw

materials. Given the overall outlook of our times, this sequence of events is unthinkable. Pose this against the impossibility of holding back for long the rush of colonial peoples for freedom, and you define the dilemma in which the State Department threshes unhappily about.

Indo-China, like the development of the H-bomb, is another symbol of the fact that the thinking that has characterized Western civilization for the last 500 years is hopelessly out of date, and that no ultimate solution will be found short of a major shift of values for Western peoples and nations. That the values to which we must shift are those to which millions have given lip-reverence for two millenia is simply an added touch of irony—and hope.

Action

Even though the issues are as fundamental as the preceding paragraphs suggest, most pacifists understandably feel impelled to “do something” about Indo-China, as they want to “do something” about the H-bomb. It is another measure of the frustration men of good will must suffer in these days that there is so little to “do.” Letters to government officials and newspaper editors, petitions, picket lines—these are all good and necessary things. They serve to educate both participants and public; they may even have a part in slowing the drive toward global war, which in itself is enormously important. But to maintain a sturdy faith the pacifist must remind himself that of ultimate importance is the continual restatement of that faith, even though the results may not be visible, leaving the final result to God and the generations.

Caracas

One of our correspondents has sent us a lengthy comparison of the reports of the recent Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, by the American magazine *Time* and the Mexican *Tiempo*. We agree with him that it is an interesting study in national attitudes, and wish that space permitted printing the entire memorandum.

Time's emphasis was on the “diplomatic victory” achieved by John Foster Dulles in achieving passage of the U.S.-sponsored resolution calling for collective action against any infiltration and domination by the “international Communist movement” of a Latin American state.

The opposition of Guatemala, which voted against the resolution, was ascribed by *Time* to the Communists in the Guatemalan government, with no presentation of the case made by the Guatemalan delegate. The opposition of Mexico and Argentina, who abstained from voting, was explained in terms of their fear of ultimate intervention by the United States.

Tiempo, on the other hand, while printing much of Dulles' remarks, also presented the dissenters' points of view. This revealed that Guillermo Toriello of Guatemala, for instance, indicated his country's three major concerns as gradual confiscation of lands held by the U.S.-dominated United Fruit Company; the promulgation of laws of agrarian reform; and "to strengthen and amplify the freedoms of expression of thought." While Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico made this point:

"Our program of action has always been to defend democracy without impairing its practice, to protect our institutions without trampling under foot the liberty and respect of human rights, to strengthen continental solidarity without impairing the sovereignty and independence of each state . . . God grant that . . . we keep in mind that the great battles are won, in the last analysis, in the hearts of men, not on the conference tables."

Favorite Pacifist Dilemmas



"Suppose you were walking down the street with your grandmother and a thug came along and . . ."

223 CHRYSTIE STREET



THE TWO HUNDRED men who daily form the breadline at 223 Chrystie Street, New York, are a fitting memorial to the man who wrote and lived out his own Ten Commandments. They tell of Peter Maurin, founder of the Catholic Worker movement, whose Ten Commandments of Social Justice were:

1—Thou shalt love God—the Creator of Heaven and Earth.

2—Thou shalt love man—the masterpiece of God's creation.

3—Thou shalt honor the Pope—God's spokesman to man.

4—Thou shalt live on the sweat of thy brow.

5—Thou shalt distribute thy superfluous wealth among the poor.

6—Thou shalt consider the poor as the Ambassadors of God.

7—Thou shalt offer thy services as a gift.

8—Thou shalt consider property as a trust.

9—Thou shalt consider voluntary poverty as a worthy ideal.

10—Thou shalt detach thyself from the things of this world.

Peter Maurin's was a unique Christian apostolate. "We need to make that kind of society," Peter had said, "where it is easier for people to be good." And because his love of God made him love his neighbor, he wanted to cry out against the evils of the day—the state, war, usury, the degradation of man, the lack of a philosophy of work. He sang the delights of poverty as a means of making a step to the land, of getting back to the dear natural things of earth.

nd sky, of home and children. He
ried out against the machine, be-
ause, as Pius XI had said, 'Raw
aterials went into the factory and
ame out ennobled and man went
and came out degraded'; and
ecause it deprived a man of what
as as important as bread, his
ork, his work with his hands, his
bility to use all of himself, which
ade him a whole man and a holy
an. He knew we needed a good
ocial order where men could grow
p to their full stature and be men.
and he also knew that it took
en to make such a social order.
He tried to form them, he tried to
educate them. . . ."

In a nutshell (that is, in the
words of Dorothy Day in Harpers'
The Long Loneliness) this is what

Peter Maurin did. He attacked our
impersonal, man-devouring society
by preaching and practicing a per-
sonal, man-building alternative. He
was annoyed because charity and
the works of mercy were being
handled by the state and by large
welfare corporations, including the
Church. The command to perform
these works he felt to be addressed
to persons. What he had in mind
was something of the spirit behind
the "Christ rooms" of medieval
Christian homes, in which any
wayfarer seeking shelter would be
lodged. The houses of hospitality
that are so integral a part of the
Catholic Worker movement are the
Christ rooms of mid-twentieth
century America.

Because he was poor himself, and



The second shift in the dining hall. Residents of St. Joseph's House, as the hospitality home at 223 Chrystie Street is named, eat first, men from the Bowery second.

because he saw the poor as ambassadors of God, it was to them that Peter ministered throughout his life. Just as he did, so all members of the immediate Catholic Worker family identify themselves with the "dregs" of our society. For years intimately a part of the Bowery life around 115 Mott Street, today the movement has its center at 223 Chrystie Street, happily in the same area. Every day two hundred men from the Bowery share bread and coffee with the Worker family. Destitute men and women come for second-hand clothing, for shelter, for companionship. And none is turned away if somehow provision can be made. God multiplies the loaves, Dorothy Day once declared.

Progressive Journalism

Peter Maurin is dead now, but the movement he fathered, the paper he founded, live on. Dorothy Day, a skillful journalist converted to Catholicism in her twenties, co-founder of the movement really, continues as its mainstay and spirit. *On Pilgrimage, Houses of Hospitality, From Union Square to Rome, The Long Loneliness*—these are her books. They tell the story of her conversion and the history of Catholic Worker.

With the movement was born, as part of Peter's educational program, *The Catholic Worker*, a monthly newspaper. Its first issue appeared in May of 1933, when 13,000,000 Americans were jobless. That its editors should have rallied to the side of the unemployed or sought to publicize the struggling labor union movement is no surprise. Nor the heights to which *Catholic Worker* circulation rapidly soared, considering its price, unchanged today, of a penny a copy.

While Peter was alive, the paper's prime job was to propagate his ideas, which he readily had set down as *Easy Essays*. "Everybody's paper," he once remarked, "is nobody's paper." He wanted it to be somebody's—his. And it continues his through the years—strong for the things making "whole and holy" men, unremittably opposed to those things attempting to destroy man's personal responsibility and to take away from him liberty to live a life of conscience under God.

Strong Pacifist Voice

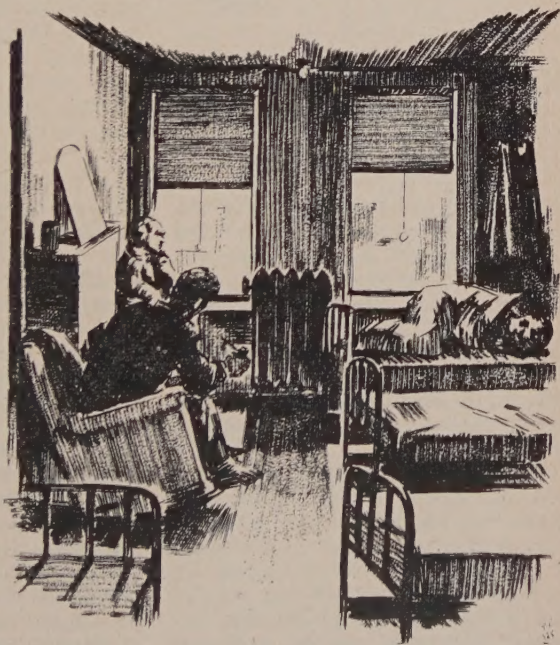
The Catholic Worker, through its basic philosophy and through its paper, raises one of the firmest voices in the land for pacifism. When there is so little opposition to dependence on military rather than spiritual strength, it is encouraging to hear this voice. These past five years, it has been Bob Ludlow's column in the paper that has spotlighted attention on the grave problems of freedom and authority intrinsic to the war-peace issue. Although Bob has recently left *The Catholic Worker*, and associate editor Tom Sullivan does not consider himself a pacifist, the paper continues so. Catholic Worker bull sessions often revolve around the "just war" concept and the issues of morality raised by modern obliteration weapons.

"As to our position in regard to war," wrote Bob Ludlow in June, 1948, "it is simply that under the supernatural ethics of Christ war is not admissible for the Christian. That we are called to go beyond natural ethics and the Old Dispensation and strive to conform our actions to that spirit of Christ which is exemplified in the Sermon on the Mount and in the example

His life. That the love taught by Christ excludes war, that the brotherhood of man taught by Him excludes national States as we have known them and that the concept of human dignity whereby He joined us to His Divinity excludes all exploitation of man by man, all forms of slavery. That these things are contained in the deposit of faith even though their realization has been a gradual process and has not as yet been made explicit." Note especially the last sentence, which repeats what Peter Maurin saw as the Catholic Worker task: to bring to the attention, first of the Church, then of the world, the commandments of social justice contained in Scripture and in various social pronouncements of Popes, especially *Humani Generis* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. "To apply the ethics of the encyclical of those of Pius XI and Leo XII) to the problems of today," said Peter. Some of the problems touching *The Catholic Worker* conscience are revealed through its headlines. The following have appeared within the past six years: The death of a Hearnstriker, Capital punishment, Police Brutality and the F.B.I., The Puerto Rican Poor suffer in the

Midst of Plenty, New Assault on Civil Liberties, Pope Begs Mercy for Rosenbergs, Problem of the Mentally Ill and Subnormal, The Satan Bomb, Bread and Money, Police-State Mentality.

Dorothy Day once pointed out that it was not enough to say over and over again, or even to sing in our hearts, that all men are brothers. Rather this faith must be "translated into act, into flesh and blood, into our eating and drinking and working and loving." Readers of *The Catholic Worker* and those with a closer acquaintance of the movement have witnessed that act.



Part of the men's dormitory, with guests in not untypical attitudes. St. Joseph's includes a dormitory for women also, as well as a library-reading room.

The Catholic Church Rethinks WAR



by Michael Harrington

Former editor, *The Catholic Worker*

THE MORALITY of war is one of the questions, which, within the Catholic Church, has not been decided with finality. The Church has not been a "Peace Church" in the sense of Friends, yet it has always asserted that war must be judged morally—not by the mere "weighing of the act against the advantage," as Pius XII wrote in 1948.

The traditional Catholic position has been to distinguish between the "just" and the "unjust" war. A war was "just" if its cause was just, if it was declared by lawful authority, used just means, and if there was a proportion between the good gained and the evil inflicted. Thomas Aquinas held this position.

It wasn't until the seventeenth century that the Spanish theologian Suarez introduced the exact notion

of conscientious objection, or war resistance, when he held that no one could participate in a war which did not meet these conditions.

In modern times the increasing horror of armed conflict has led to an abundance of discussion of this traditional "just war" doctrine. The theologians who helped draft Leo XIII's Encyclical on Labor, *Rerum Novarum*, suggested a re-evaluation. And in 1931, a group of theologians from all over Europe gathered at Fribourg and proclaimed that modern war "has become such a world calamity that it ceases to be a means proportionate to the end which alone can justify the use of force—the restoration of peace and order."

In France, Fathers Briere and Vanderpool had done important work collecting the texts of the

Fathers and Doctors of the Church, but it was a German priest, Franziskus Strattman, who played the most important role in our times. His conclusion in *Church and War* and in *Peace and the Clergy*, published after World War I, is that under traditional doctrine modern war is immoral. Strattman's reputation is great. Organizer of a Catholic group within the German C.O.R., he was called upon in 1948 to address the Bishops of France; he told them, "Today, all defensive war is senseless."

Immorality of War

Catholic re-evaluation of war has concerned itself, for the most part, with two points: (1) modern war uses unjust means as an essential characteristic, and (2) destruction is so great and victory so pyrrhic that there is no proportion of good and evil.

One point has been agreed upon: all aggressive war is immoral. Monsignor Cordivani, a Vatican official, has written, "Today a nation no longer has the right to declare war." And Msgr. Ottaviani, Secretary of the Holy Office at the Vatican, shares this view—indeed, the non-pacifist French Jesuit, Father Gaston Fessard, reported recently that many European theologians have interpreted Ottaviani's authoritative *Institutiones Juris Publici* as making all modern war immoral. In 1950 the Cardinals and Bishops of France lent the considerable weight of their opinion. They wrote: "For our part we condemn them (atomic weapons) with all our strength, as we had no hesitation in condemning the mass bombings during the last war which, in attacks on military objectives, killed old men, women and children at the same time."

And within this year, the Auxiliary Bishop of Lyon, Msgr. Ancel, wrote that if the United States should attack Russia, civil disobedience would be the obligation of the Catholic.

More recently, Father Pierre Lorson, S. J., also of France, defended in *Un Chretien, peut-il etre un Objecteur de Conscience?* the right of the Catholic to be a C.O. He is currently working with Father Strattman within the IFOR.

It may perplex non-Catholics to find that there is so much disagreement among Catholics. Too often the Roman Church is regarded as a monolith. Yet such an analysis cannot comprehend the variance between the American and French hierarchies in their emphases on the question of war. They agree on tradition, but their interpretations differ widely. The Pope's peace message of Christmas, 1951, with its condemnation of the armaments race and insistence on individual conscience, is quite a bit to the "left" of much of American Catholic anti-communism.

Two Kinds of Defense

The important thing about this whole matter is that discussion is taking place, more in Europe than in the United States, and it is taking place within the Church. And that *every* reputable theologian who has written on the subject defends the right of the individual conscience to reject modern war. More and more, theologians themselves are condemning war. And Catholic C.O.'s during the last war found themselves protected by the Church (often against the will of lay Catholics).

I myself hope that history is teaching a lesson, to us individually and to the Church as a whole:

that self-defense such as St. Augustine believed justified is one thing, but that group, military, armed defense is another, differing in kind from the individual. And that if the history of the world has taught us anything it is that there never has been a war which

met the conditions that the Church demands, that war itself cannot be justified. For as the Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, has pointed out, the Crusades themselves, dedicated to holy purpose, blessed, inspired, ended in rape, pillage, plunder and horror.

What Makes Me a Pacifist

Victor Gollancz, British publisher and author, explained to an audience in March why he declared himself a pacifist two years ago, at the age of 59. ¹

"Up to then I had been a born pacifist against my will," he said. "I was a natural pacifist at the age of six."

Two urges had prevented him from being a pacifist in the period leading up to the second world war. One was the very hatred of war itself and the desire to prevent war. Secondly, he looked at the coming second world war in what he then called a "realistic" way.

The motive of the "Popular Front," which he had supported, had been to make it too dangerous for Hitler to launch a war.

Then there had been the doctrine of a lesser evil. It was war on the one hand, with its terrible results, and on the other hand, the conquest of the world by Hitler. "They were sane and honourable reasons and there was, and is, an enormous amount to be said for them," said Mr. Gollancz.

He deprecated pacifists who scorned these arguments. "One of the reasons which prevented me from declaring myself a pacifist was the abominable self-righteousness of so many pacifists."

Jewish convert to Christianity, Mr. Gollancz declared, "What makes me a pacifist now is a vision of our temporal world as a demension in which it is an absolute obligation on each individual to express, as far as he is able, the kindness, the charity and the benevolence of God.

"It is no longer possible for a human being to calculate the results of his thoughts and actions," he added. "He must do what he sees as the absolute good and leave the rest to God."

Peace News

They Occupied Our Country



by J. B. Th. Hugenholtz

A leader of the Dutch FOR tells of the resistance, violent and non-violent, to the Nazi occupation, and of the ethical problems it raised

WHEN I HEARD in the early morning of May 10, 1940, during a tour through the north of our country, that the German army had invaded our eastern frontiers, I knew that now the time had come to stand for our Christian pacifist way of life. Our "war" lasted only five days, ending with the bombing of Rotterdam, but the "peace" that followed was for us the beginning of the real war on the psychological, spiritual and Christian level.

During the first year of the occupation we still had some freedom. Meetings of more than twenty persons were forbidden, but we were able to have such meetings secretly in several places, and these meetings were visited by some of our council members. But difficulties began to increase.

In March, 1941, all activities and

J. B. Th. Hugenholtz is one of the leading figures of the *Kerk en Vrede* (Church and Peace, the Dutch F.O.R.), having served in the past both as Chairman and International Secretary. He bears Ds. in front of J. B. Th., too, for *dominus*, or minister. During the war he was imprisoned for nine months for hiding Jews in his home.

publications of "non-commercial" organizations were stopped and their possessions confiscated. Our society, *Kerk en Vrede*,* was ordered abolished, and the invaders intensified their efforts to nazify our cultural life. We had to face the fact of the spiritual occupation of our country by the totalitarian

* Church and Peace, the Dutch F.O.R.

nazi-system, and the challenge to stand and fight for our cultural values and Christian beliefs. And this not by inhuman and un-Christian means but in the way of Christ (Ephesians VI: 10-18).

The intolerableness of this regime reached its peak in the inhuman persecution of our Jewish countrymen and the systematic enslavement of our working people. Protestant and Roman Catholic churches alike protested, and courageous citizens of Amsterdam showed their solidarity with the Jews by the famous strike of February, 1942.

The Underground

Underground organizations arose from different segments of our people. Some sought to make contact with the allied forces and to help young people join the army in England; some existed to help hidden Jews and other persecuted people by finding shelter and food (ration cards) for them; some distributed secretly printed underground papers and pamphlets, fabricated passports, robbed the rationing-bureaus, and organized violent resistance by assisting airborne soldiers, distributing parachuted weapons and successfully liberating imprisoned comrades.

We pacifists frequently came in contact with these partisans. It was clear to us that we could not participate in the violence, but it was equally clear that we must contribute to the defense of our cultural values: respect for the human personality, and freedom of thought and expression, which evolves from the Christian love for God and neighbor without any exception or discrimination.

Thus we helped spontaneously, along the line of the organization

to which we belonged, all those who were persecuted and needed our help.

This was our determining principle, and in all honesty we felt no conscientious scruples at using falsified passports to help our Jewish friends where the only alternative was to deliver them to the murderous Nazi regime. Nor were we greatly troubled in distributing ration cards, by the knowledge that they had been stolen, sometimes violently. (Most of the hundred thousands of cards were stolen without bloodshed, however, with the help of the Dutch officials themselves!)

Personally I was never obliged to lie to a German, and only once did I remove by chemical means the letter J (indicating Jewish origin) from a passport, thus quickly changing a Jewish friend into an Aryan superman!!

Nevertheless, I am sure that in the case of the danger of death to a Jewish friend (and all Jews were condemned to death!) I should have refused to tell the truth. I believe that there is a difference between a "lie" forthcoming from love for your neighbor and a "lie" at the service of egoistical interests. In ethics the spiritual *intention* is decisive, but otherwise we must be careful not to *sanctify* all means! Anyhow, this compromise between our genuine love for man and the sinful situation of human life that stands in our way, shows us how connected our life is with this world which is corrupted by sin—also our sin! In such a situation may God help us.

Need to Compromise

Recently a commission on non-violent resistance instituted by the

council of *Kerk en Vrede*, studying the problems of nonviolent resistance in a violent world, considered the matter of absolute devotion to truth in defending our cultural values and protecting persecuted people. It asserted that circumstances such as these could coerce a Christ into accepting compromise. Although I am conscious of the terrible complications of the moral obligations and human possibilities that compose the compromise, we have to envisage the danger that truth in this case is no longer the norm of life, but that compromise takes the place of the norm that God has given us in our conscience and the revelation of His will in the person and life of Jesus Christ.

Another no less important point of view connected with this problem is the reality of God's Providence. As Christians we believe that God's blessing can rest only upon decisions made in obedience to His law of love and truth. In danger, however, man is apt to take Providence in his own hands and to lose his trust in God and the ways and means He shows us in the

deepest reality of our conscience.

We who would follow the way of the Cross in our international relations, refusing our support to military defense, ought not forget that the use of nonviolent means itself is, from a natural and worldly point of view, a great risk if not a foolishness. Experience, nevertheless, has taught us that even this method has produced unexpected "results" in converting the spirit of aggressive enemies.

Too little are we conscious of the fact that the Cross of Christ is the real sign of the Providence of God: a "stumbling block" and a "foolishness" for the natural man, but the highest revelation of the wisdom of God, the only way to salvation of mankind.

As Christian pacifists who are making in the history of today the first unsteady steps toward a non-violent community of men, it is necessary that we should implicate the Cross of Christ more and more in our human relations, in readiness to bear His Cross in the service of the Kingdom of God and the life of our neighbor.

Would You Lie to Save a Life?

The pacifist commitment is to truth, but what does that mean when the lives of innocent victims are at stake? Devoted pacifists under Nazi occupation in Europe have admitted that they helped to forge passports, steal ration coupons, and otherwise deceive the authorities. As Dr. Hugenholz writes, "We felt no conscientious scruples. . . ." And André Trocmé, in "Stages of Nonviolence" (*Fellowship*, Oct. '53) wrote: "It was not possible . . . to avoid using false identity papers."

What do you think? *Fellowship* invites letters from readers on the subject, and will plan to publish at least some of those received. Keep them under 250 words, please.

PLAID CYMRU



*Welsh Nationalists are giving
a new flavor to nonviolence*

by Tom Wardle

LAST WEEK," said the man in the mackintosh looking impressively out of the window, "Wales was a factor in the life of Cardiff."

"Last week" had seen the biggest demonstration which Plaid Cymru (pronounced approximately, plied kimru), the Welsh national party, had yet staged in Cardiff, their future capital. A procession a mile long had marched through the town, "and even the commies were impressed by that, look you."

Normally, the Welsh nationalists don't go in for mile-long processions. It is in fact the impression of humanness rather than good organization which one gets from a visit with them. The office is no

doubt efficient, but not over-efficient. Meetings are not rushed: a man takes time to think, and time to speak and then time to think again about what he's spoken.

Don't run away with the idea that the Plaiders are a lot of rustics playing at politics. They know precisely what they are about; and what they are about is as attractive a job of power-decentralization as any on foot in the Western world. Self-government for Wales is not a shibboleth; it has real meaning for them as it will for the English and for others, too, in the course of time. The descent on Cardiff which the headmaster so proudly described to me was part of the

growing assault upon the most solid bastion of resistance to the independence movement—English Cardiff.

Serious Plans

The Plaiders already have the site for the Welsh Parliament buildings fixed at the rear of the magnificent municipal edifices lining one of the most pleasant avenues in Europe. The museum, the art gallery, the university stand out surprisingly white and clean against the sky. Photographs of them go round the world on handsome brochures advertising the smokeless coal of the valleys. In the current issue of *The Welsh Nation*, monthly organ of the movement, is an architect's sketch of the future Parliament buildings. This is a matter to be taken seriously. Reports in the Welsh press show that the Parliament for Wales campaign, which Plaid Cymru is backing as a first step, is making excellent progress.

For pacifists a movement for national independence is a thing of much concern. Nyasaland, Guiana, Cambodia or Wales—the location does not destroy the legitimacy of a move for the reduction in a sphere of government, the releasing of cultural and psychological energies. At first glance, Plaid Cymru would appear to be no different than an honest Viet Minh or a well-behaved PPP (People's Progressive Party in B. Guiana).

But it is different, and in a way no matter considerably more to the friends of freedom. It is different for two principal reasons. First, because it does not believe that the process of decentralization from Westminster should end with Cardiff. In political, economic and cultural matters, it accepts and advo-

cates the importance of increasing and extending self-government, *down to the lowest possible level*. "Democracy means, not centralization, but the distribution of power, authority, control and ownership on as wide a basis as possible among the organizations, societies, communities and people who form the nation. This is true of political government; if democracy is to survive and have real meaning, it must also be true of industry and a nation's economy."

Thus the introduction to a recent article in the Party's paper. The broader implications of economic decentralization are examined in a basic text, *Towards An Economic Democracy*, which advocates the redistribution of the land to individuals and families, cooperative buying and marketing schemes, worker-controlled, small-scaled industry and regional administration of national services and communications.

Basic Nonviolence

Plaid Cymru's second point of difference with many preceding and contemporary independence movements is its basis of nonviolence. Springing from a deep and powerful non-conformist religious tradition, this may appear academic in view of the circumstances. It is hardly likely that England would suppress their group with regiments or show the flag at Llandudno. Or would she?

That, however, is not the point. By a determined insistence to refrain from violence in the achievement of their object, these Welshmen have, in the process, developed an attitude of mind which inhibits the growth of group prejudice even against the British, main villains in their piece. This expresses

itself in considerations such as this: "Cardiff's one real weakness (as a capital) appears to be that because of the years of English influence the city has lost a large part of its Welsh consciousness. Yet perhaps this very weakness is Cardiff's greatest strength. If some thoroughly Welsh town were chosen as capital, is it not possible that the non-Welsh-speaking citizens would be afraid that the policy of those in favor of Home Rule was one of 'Wales for the Welsh-speaking' only, and that it would be difficult for any non-Welsh speakers to obtain good positions?"

Direct Results

A few years ago the War Office abandoned a plan to take over a huge tract of Welsh land for an artillery range, because of the resistance offered by the Welsh, led by the nationalists. A party of them sat on the roadway in the path of approaching Army lorries. This may have seemed naive, but *the lorries did not proceed*. The demonstration was effective as an indication of what was to come, and the Army yielded.

The idea of direct nonviolent action is one to which they will pay more attention in the future as opportunities for directly affecting the source of their dependence develop. They plan group-owned settlements and farms where their members may live self-sufficient lives without having to sell their labor in the English-owned factories and mines. The main problem is to bring the Welsh people to want independence, in effective numbers. This is becoming progressively easier as it is realized that the movement's program represents no contraction of loyalties, but rather the foundation of sound and

enduring relationships between their own and the English peoples and between Wales and the world.

Plaid Cymru was born as a party organization in 1925. Since then there has been a steady growth. There are now 230 branches, with a combined membership of 27,000. The total electorate of Wales is over 1,500,000 but there is considerable sympathy among people who are not members of the party. The secretary writes: "Membership has increased more rapidly in the last two or three years, and since the war we have had large numbers of young people joining, particularly in the University and other colleges."

There is undoubtedly a spirit about these people fresher than anything felt or seen in any run-of-the-mill organization, and a profounder sympathy for liberation movements.

Pacifist leadership and membership is to a large extent interlocking with that of Plaid Cymru. In the valleys the emblem of the broken rifle and the Plaid trident for God, Wales and fellowman can often be seen together on the same lapel. The message of goodwill which goes out every year to the world's children from the youngsters of Wales has grown out of this genuine love of peace, while every Sunday in the chapels and gospel halls throughout the land can still be heard the ringing tones of men who still believe in the possibility of a world covered with the glory of God "as the waters cover the sea."

To many a heart in not a few places of the earth has come something of the tremble of excitement which is stirring these peoples of Wales, the excitement of a new historical direction, a new lift of hope.

POWER HOUSES

by Kirby Page

IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA extensive use is being made of all-day prayer retreats as sources of spiritual illumination and power. The results are so satisfying that I am now devoting most of my time to extended conversations with groups of twenty to forty people, assembled for serious consideration of the responsibility of being a Christian in such a day as this, and in unhurried prayer.

As a basis of our exploration, we are using these fourteen ways of finding and doing the will of God in our time:

1. Reflect upon the character of God.
2. Saturate your mind with great passages from the Bible, especially with the doings of Jesus.
3. Enjoy constant comradeship with our living Lord.
4. Expect guidance from the Holy Spirit.
5. Receive forgiveness and power in partaking of Holy Communion.
6. Be persistent in private prayer, family prayer, group prayer, and corporate worship in the sanctuary.
7. Experience human fellowship on the highest level.
8. Mellow your spirit by con-

stant exposure to the power of silence, to great music, and to the beauty of nature.

9. Read great books and study the experiences of the noblest men and women of the race.

10. Seek understanding of the breadth and depth of the will of God in all phases of life, especially in the areas of special conflict.

11. Run the risks of doing what is right in God's sight, rather than take the consequences of doing what we know to be wrong.

12. Proceed with confidence in God, and joyously leave the results in his loving hands.

13. Experience eternal life in the midst of time.

14. Value every hour as of priceless worth, and make wise use of time.

The division of time used follows these patterns: 10 A.M., begin with a long-playing record of great music; prayer and conversation until 12 noon; recess and fellowship until 12:30; luncheon in silence except for great music until 1:30; session until 3:30; tea and fellowship until 4:00; (some groups adjourn at 4:00); session until 5:30; recess and fellowship until 6:00; supper in silence except for great

music until 7:00; session until 9:00 adjournment.

An alternate division of time is: 2:00 P.M., begin with recording of great music; prayer and conversation until 3:30; tea and fellowship until 4:00; session until 5:30; recess and fellowship until 6:00; supper in silence except for great music until 7:00; session until 9:00 adjournment.

Some groups meet for an all-day retreat on Saturday, some on Saturday afternoon and evening; some on Sunday afternoon and evening; some women's groups meet for an all-day session on weekdays, with husbands coming for supper and evening session. Sometimes it is better to meet in a home with a large living-room and opportunity for quietness.

In every case several individuals

of breadth of experience and depth of spiritual insight participate in the general conversation about the deeper issues of life. The discussion ranges from the will of God in personal relations to the will of God in economics and world affairs.

Here is a procedure which may be used, with little promotion and little expense, by a pastor or ministerial association or a Fellowship group, with deep and enduring results. Experience shows that twenty to forty people in a circle can engage in intimate discussion and fervent prayer over a period of five to seven hours. Fellowship in prayer and discussion and action is the breath of spiritual life in any church where "two or three" spend time together in seeking to find the will of God and power to do it.

The Dreadful Game

The titanic struggle for military superiority now being waged between nations is on the assumption that material, not moral, force will determine the destinies of people.

No nation is more force-minded today than our own. The people are burdened and unhappy under it, but they do not know how to withdraw because the stakes seem to be so high that the dreadful game must be played on to fortune or ruin.

And within each nation the internal struggle for power between classes, creeds, races and ideologies tends to take on the same uncompromising character.

Robert H. Jackson
Supreme Court Justice,
in a speech, Nov. 3, 1953

Magda Trocme Follows Husband Here

Although André Trocme has included his speaking tour of the United States, the Trocme name will reverberates in American homes and halls. For on April 27, the distaff side of the Trocme combination arrived in New York harbor to begin her own speaking tour here. Magda is co-European secretary of IFOR.

She spent a busy May appearing before Eastern and Midwestern audiences under the auspices of the American F.O.R. The states she faced with her presence were New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota. She spoke on the subjects: "Is there an Alternative to Western paternalism?"; "Colonialism and Underdeveloped Countries"; "Why do Many Europeans Sympathize With Communism?"; and "Experience with Nonviolent Resistance during the War." The last subject, unsurprisingly, is the most popular, as the Trocme name associates itself most readily in American minds with the nonviolent resistance of the Huguenots at Le Champeon during the Nazi Occupation of France.

During June and July Mme. Trocme fills engagements at the summer international institutes of the American Friends Service Committee.

Office Swamped With Petitions

As of May 6, the national office had received 3,956 signatories for its petition to President Eisenhower to suspend experimentation in mass destruction weapons. Several F.O.R. members, writing to apologize for having gotten so few names on their petitions, expressed shock at the apathy and general lack of sympathy found among church member friends and people generally.

French Evangelist Writes Important Book

Pastor Jean Lasserre, known in France as an evangelist among workers and for having participated in the campaign to abolish brothels, has just published, under the auspices of the French F.O.R., an important book entitled *War and the Gospel*. Henri Roser, another French F.O.R. member, wrote the Preface and a lengthy review for *La Reconciliation*.

According to Henri Roser, the Lasserre book is a "radical questioning" of the traditional Christian attitude on war. Leaning heavily on Scripture, Lasserre "refuses to take seriously considerations coming from any natural theology whatever, or from Thomistic scholasticism." The book "seeks rightly to fill a gap, from now on intoler-

able, in Christian theology: how to reconcile the strictly political obedience of the Christian with the Gospel ethics." Roser concludes: "It would be difficult to criticize the manner in which Jean Lasserre, a disciple of Calvin, restores to the Law of God its character as an ultimate political criterion."

Staff Makes Plans For Evanston

Plans are being furthered for staff activity at the meeting of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches to be held at Evanston, Illinois, August 15-31. Their job is seeing that the pacifist point of view is presented strongly when the Assembly discusses the question of international conflict. To this end, hundreds of copies of *Peace Is the Will of God: A Testimony to the World Council of Churches* and the Church Peace Mission's *The Church, The Christian and the World* are being distributed; a meeting for pacifists and near-pacifists is scheduled for the evening of August 14; a special reserved room will feature pacifist literature during the Assembly.

Of the delegates at least sixty, and perhaps as many as eighty, are known pacifists.

Dutch Pacifists Keep Busy

We have two bits of news about peace activities in Holland. First, Dutch pacifists have united in the publication of a *Handbook of the Pacifist Movement*. The notices of the 272-page book suggest that it is in many ways similar to the *Pacifist Handbook* which was gotten out in this country during the

war. It contains chapters dealing with Christian pacifism, the Quaker point of view, humanist and radical pacifism, international relief work, Dutch laws and practice re conscientious objection, revolutionary anti-militarism in the Netherlands, and the Third Camp. Dutch F.O.R. leaders such as Ds. J. B. Th. Hugenholtz and Dr. Kr. Strijdom are prominent among the editors and authors of the book.

Also, we hear that seven Dutch organizations have formed a united "Independent Contact Committee for Peace Work" to intensify their efforts to secure greater activity for war prevention among the members of churches, cultural groups and political parties. Sparked by the new element of risk brought about by hydrogen bomb development, the Committee in its initial manifesto declares that more effective peace work is vital to survival.

Portuguese Colony Sets Radical Policy

The Portuguese East Africa colony of Mozambique has inaugurated a race relations policy that for South and East Africa, is revolutionary. White men settling in that colony's Limpopo Valley, being opened up by the building of a large dam on the Limpopo River, will have to settle along with Negroes or stay away.

The original plan was to have this marginal land reserved for the exclusive use of whites. White reserves, after all, are the pattern all over southern and eastern Africa. The best and largest part of the Union of South Africa is one, as is much of Southern Rhodesia and 12,000 miles of the Kenya highlands. To create a new white col-

ny in Mozambique was thought an invitation to trouble similar to that plaguing Kenya—Mau Mau terrorism to destroy the white reserve.

This forward-looking policy of assimilation, announced recently by Governor Gabriel Teixeira, presumes that eventually all Negroes in the Portuguese "overseas colony" in Africa will become full citizens, differing from others only in skin color.

CCCCO Appeal Nets "Fan Letters"

The May issue of *News Notes* of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors contains comments that organization received in response to a general appeal for funds. Some of the more interesting ones: "I don't believe in such baloney. . . . I suppose you will consider that I am a Crack Pot, for I most certainly am not in favor of doddling would-be or has-been conscientious objectors. . . . How dare you send me this letter. . . . I have no money to spend in behalf of a man who won't fight for his country. . . . If anyone's conscience interferes with their being a good American citizen I suggest they move to a country where their conscience won't bother them. . . . Close up your phony peace shop and get an honest job."

Religious Journalists Decry Unilateral Bomb Tests

A plea that the United States Government "consult with other nations concerned before taking actions that might endanger the lives and food supplies of their peoples, such as the recent and pro-

posed Hydrogen-bomb tests" featured resolutions passed by the 35th annual meeting of the Associated Church Press in New York City in April.

The resolution, which was the subject of considerable debate and rewriting before it was voted without dissent, also called on the government to "continue to explore every possibility of ending the world contest in armaments, including renewed efforts through the United Nations Disarmament Commission," and urged all people to "consider soberly and in prayer the moral implications of the production and use of weapons of such indiscriminate slaughter as atomic, hydrogen and cobalt bombs, nerve gases, and agents of biological warfare."

The Associated Church Press, of which FELLOWSHIP is a member, represents some 130 denominational and nondenominational religious journals with a total circulation in excess of seven million.

Other resolutions expressed commendation for individuals and groups fighting in defense of civil liberties, for the proposed "world pool" of nuclear resources, and for the United Nations; expressed a welcome to foreign delegates to the World Council Assembly at Evanston next August; and reaffirmed opposition to the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican.

Nehru Wants "Peace Area"

(WP) Prime Minister Nehru of India reacted strongly against the U.S. arms deal with Pakistan, it has been said, for various reasons: his fear of increased military power for Pakistan, his alarm over Kash-

mir, his fear of involvement in a world war. These factors may have been in his mind, but the positive, rather than the negative, phases of his thinking have received little or no publicity. The fact is that Nehru, before the arms arrangement, had worked out a project for a "peace area" in Asia, with parts of Africa added, to exert constructive world leadership and serve as an inspiring example. He saw this "destroyed."

Change in CO Training; Other Items

Since March 8 men inducted into the Army as I-A-O's (conscientious objectors available for noncombatant duty) have been sent to Fort Sam Houston, San Antonio, Texas, for basic training instead of to Camp Pickett, Virginia, now being closed. Since no other soldiers are given their first eight weeks of basic training at Fort Sam Houston, the I-A-O's are being trained for the first time in companies made up entirely of conscientious objectors.

This has resulted in a change in the basic training program. Previously, when the weapons training was being given the other members of their companies the I-A-O's stood aside and did not participate. Now the entire training period will be devoted to subjects other than those having to do with the use of arms. More hours will be given to medical training and to driving and motor maintenance to increase the value of these men for ambulance work.

In April representatives of the historic peace churches conferred in Washington with General Lewis Hershey, director of Selective Service, in the hope of eliminating multiple prosecutions of CO's. Under

present regulations, a number of CO's have been indicted, convicted and sentenced to prison again after having served a term for refusing to register. Courts have held that such prosecutions are not prohibited by the "double jeopardy" clause of the federal constitution because refusal to register after being released from prison constitutes a new and separate offense. It is said that Gen. Hershey received the delegation "sympathetically." There have been at least 19 second prosecutions throughout the county.

According to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, a unit of 32 conscientious objectors serving in the Colorado State Mental Hospital, Pueblo, has been terminated under pressure from labor unions. The board said that this mass firing of the CO's is the first case of its kind to arise under the present civilian work program. Said the board: "For some time now Selective Service has been concerned about developments in the event there is no longer a labor shortage and consequently little need for the services of I-W men. The operation of the present I-W program is regarded by Selective Service as dependent upon local labor shortages. The law cannot compel any agency or institution to hire men, even though the men are compelled by law to serve somewhere. The arrangements to hire CO's are purely voluntary by employers. In the event of a labor market which is generally plentiful across the country, an interesting dilemma could occur."

A recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling holds that belief in "theocratic war" does not bar a draft registrant from classification as a CO. The Court, in April, affirmed a decision by the Eighth Circuit

court of Appeals, Minneapolis, Minn., that *Siegfried R. Taffs*, a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses, should be freed from a conviction of violating the Selective Service Act. The conclusion of the Eighth Circuit Court was: "It [war] is a struggle of violence by one political entity seeking to overcome or overthrow another political entity. Manifestly, Congress was legislating in regard to this type of conflict [in its use of the term, 'war in any form'] and was not, and indeed could not, concern itself with theocratic wars—that is, wars carried on by the immediate direction of God."

The *Vern Davidson* Defense Committee (see Feb., p. 22 for Davidson's story) still seeks help in financing his appeal. Contact *David McReynolds*, 132½ Ashland Avenue, Ocean Park, Calif.

Sayre Finds Mexican Work Proceeding Slowly

Visiting Mexico in March, International Secretary Nevin Sayre found that for various reasons almost no work had been done by the Mexican FOR in the last year. The plan which he had set up three years ago of collaboration with the South American FOR had not functioned, nor had the experiment of depending entirely on volunteer work with no paid officer been successful.

An exception to this was the good organizing of Muriel Lester's tour in 1951; of K. K. Chandy's tour in 1952; and of this trip by Sayre. Also significant was Francisco Estrella's translation of Stanley Jones' life of Gandhi and its publication by a Protestant house.

During Sayre's stay, a plan for improving the Mexican work was devised. First, a peace cell of eight carefully selected persons was set up in Mexico City. Its first meeting was held shortly before Sayre left, its members agreeing to meet for prayer and guidance every Thursday morning from 7 to 8:45. Second, this group recommended payment to Pedro de Koster, Secretary of the F.O.R., of a salary for two days a week services. This is to be paid for six months with a review of the situation before the end of that time and the expectation that it would be continued thereafter if found satisfactory. Additional funds will be provided for stenographic assistance, travel and literature. The total budget for six months will be \$425, of which \$300 will be contributed by IFOR.

Apology Letters Widely Publicized in Japan

On May 10 word came from Jane Fischer Nishiwaki, wife of a Japanese scientist, of the wide publicity accorded the two letters of apology the F.O.R. sent to Japan recently. One had been addressed to the injured fishermen of the *Lucky Dragon*, the other to the Japanese generally.

Writes Mrs. Nishiwaki: "The news of the letters was *very important* to Japan. The gist of both letters was printed in nearly every paper, and here in Osaka the *English* and the *Japanese Mainichi* carried the full text of the Letter to Japan on the front page! The *Asahi* would have printed it in full, but it was released by United Press and they use only articles from the Associated Press.

Jottings

A charming F.O.R. office secretary sent, on April 28, a fairly devastating letter to the editor of the *New York Post* re the McCarthy-Army affair. Part was published. Our favorite lines: "The very stones cry out for a deliverer from McCarthyism; but I cannot see the Army in that role, not only because they played ball with McCarthy (only calling 'foul' when he turned some of his tricks on them), but because the Army itself stands for a set of values equally alien to democracy. . . . McCarthy's virulence is like a fever which, though ravaging, can be combatted by specific and prompt opposition; whereas the gradual hardening of the arteries which acceptance of military methods for solving world problems represents, makes us far less able to move flexibly and creatively in the world situation today."

In mid-April, the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, president of the British Methodist Conference, found time to take part in a continuous ban-the-bomb (H-, of course) parade in London. The sign he carried read: Stop the bomb, destructive force that has no limit.

According to *Peace News*, "The Land-Gift collection target of 2½ million acres of land by March 1954—set by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, leader of the Land-Gift Mission for the redistribution of India's land to the landless—has been over-fulfilled by nearly a

million acres." Bhave has, more than any other Indian we have heard about, captured the imagination of sensitive peoples, both Eastern and Western, concerned about the pressing land problem of India.

What may be the last word on the J. B. Matthews' hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee, scheduled to take place at the insistence of Chairman Rep. Harold Velde, is that it was cancelled in April by a committee vote of 5-4. Rep. Donald Jackson criticized the committee sharply for this action: "The trouble now is that Matthews' charges are left hanging in the air. . . ." Matthews charges that 7,000 Protestant ministers have "supported the Communist apparatus over a period of 17 years."

Two Wilmington, Delaware, ministers have resigned top posts in the Delaware Fellowship Commission in protest against its adoption of the CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) technique at an interracial workshop. The technique calls for small groups of Negroes—sometimes accompanied by white persons—to enter restaurants and other public places to test the reactions of managers and patrons. If the management discriminates against Negroes, the group tries to effect a change through persuasion. The two clergymen said this policy would hamper rather than benefit race relations in Wilmington.

Fellowship

LETTERS



Need of a Vision

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

John Swomley's article on "A Leaven Within the Church" (April, p. 10) may suggest the reason why F.O.R. meetings are often so small, and the members appear inactive in relation to the Fellowship. He emphasizes the importance of converting individuals to the full pacifist position, and points out especially the tremendous step toward durable peace that would result if we persuaded the Church to take a positive stand against all war.

These certainly are essential objectives. But the F.O.R. has taken part in a Mission to the Churches for some years, and we see little improvement. . . . And while the ordinary F.O.R. member may occasionally succeed in converting one or two Christians to pacifism, most people that we meet cannot make the change quickly. The reasons why the Church in general persists in supporting a war system which is so contrary to its Christian faith are historical and economic.

Now the sad feature of John Swomley's article is that he seems to regard other activities for peace as largely ineffective or irrelevant. He apparently does not realize sufficiently that changing the mores of a society to a higher standard is a matter of slow growth. Some individuals may apparently make the change quickly; but when that happens there has usually been gradual development toward the pacifist position before the definite change is made; or sometimes an unusual experience, possibly occurring while engaged in warfare,

brings about a quick change. It may possibly lead the people toward a standard slightly higher than those of the masses of the people; but it should not be expected to carry out the ideals of the few who are most advanced in intelligence and spirituality. That is the real meaning of Reinhold Niebuhr's title, *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. But it may advance gradually toward the ideal.

So the field for pacifists is tremendous; every action or teaching or expenditure of money that is aimed at extending the customary application of love to human affairs helps, to some extent, in the development of individuals and society towards peace. A study of the general and particular causes of war is an important part of the work, if followed by attempts to modify or eradicate these causes. Then as war and measures toward international peace are decided by governments, political action should be the focus of much attention by pacifists and other Christians. This does not mean that pacifists should seek office. (Only rarely in this country would that aid our cause effectively.) But we have the opportunity, as special issues arise, to do educational work with fellow citizens and members of the government. We may point out how problems may be practically solved by the application of love methods, realizing that intelligent love always involves understanding how a particular evil arose.

The work of pacifists need not be essentially different from that of other sincere Christians who are seeking further light and truth, but they should be more devoted to the cause and more willing to undergo sacri-

fices. Every individual should select those activities by which he can most effectively aid the cause and make use of his special qualifications.

Most people at present feel hopeless about doing anything for durable peace; and I believe a most valuable activity, in which pacifists could join with other local religious and forward-looking groups, would be to hold a public meeting to give the people a vision of how durable world peace could be attained by seeking to obey God's law in all relations, by gradual steps that would not be too difficult for our human nature to carry out. Experts who could point out how Asia and Africa and Latin America could develop materially and spiritually through the use of such methods would add to the interest of such a meeting and help make a vivid and permanent impression on the audience by giving concrete illustrations of such work. We all need a vision of the goal of world peace and brotherhood with courses of action leading toward it and faith to work for next steps forward it, in spite of discouragement and sacrifice.

"Without vision, the people perish." This may become literally true unless we all do our full part in this crisis.

MARY McDOWELL
Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Better a Fresh Start"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am unaccustomed to theological language; but it seems to me that Mr. Frank Hancock has named (see March FELLOWSHIP, p. 22) the real "rending of the Body of Christ."

Surely, to differ is not to consider oneself superior. I know that those who attend a Synagogue (which I do not) are as "worthy" as I and probably a great deal more so. But I cannot bow my head in a congregation praying for success in slaughtering our fellowmen, nor can I even

endure the appearance of so doing, "welcome" though I should be. If that is not an affront to Christ I know not what is! A Church which supports a policy of massacre (even of "the least of these") is clearly not Christian. But it does me no good to say this in church. If I am tolerated, I am tolerated as a nuisance.

Since Christianity was originally, and for years pacifist, in accordance with its very essence, some of us feel impelled to reestablish this genuinely Christian Church, which transcends all denominations yet requires no one to abandon his denomination. . . . There must be many U. S. Christian pacifists who know nothing about this Movement, but who should. For many reasons it seems hopeless to try to "make over" the present, war-supporting churches; better a fresh start.

DOROTHY BUSIEK
Mockville, N. C.

A Humble Note

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Early in April I read a letter in a newspaper which ended with:

"What can prayer do? I know that is a shocking question from a Christian, but the H-bomb is so awesome—so final! What can our feeble prayers do to offset its power?"

"Of course, it isn't the H-bomb by itself which causes us to fear, but the use our enemies make of it. They are godless. They don't believe in prayer or in moral values. What good does it do for us to pray unless they, too, want to do what is right?"

Such ideas are frequently encountered and make the unproven assumptions that we are not godless, that our enemies do not believe in moral values and that it does no good for a Christian to do what he considers right unless "they, too, want to do what is right."

FRANCIS RIGGS
Cambridge, Mass.

New Publication

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I am wondering whether the readers of FELLOWSHIP are acquainted with a concise publication issued in behalf of the rights of colonial peoples by a small group of Chicagoans. The title of this monthly publication is *Toward Freedom*. It is sponsored by such leading persons as Homer Jack, Robert Pickus, and Edward Sparling.

The last issue contains an excellent analysis of the way in which the colonial problem has been dealt with in Indonesia and Indochina. Subscriptions are \$3 a year and may be obtained from 343 South Dearborn, Chicago 4, Illinois.

CARL D. SOULE
Chicago, Ill.

Lady Asks Question

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have a question I should like very much to have answered. Perhaps "Name Withheld" in April Letters can tell me how we can adequately express "military firmness plus respect for the rights of all people" as advocated by Congressman Walter Judd and, of course, many others. How did we accomplish this in Korea and will we attain this goal in Indochina?

CAROLYN THRELKELD
Berkeley, Calif.

Ground Rent

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Throughout your magazine, including its Letters to the Editor, runs a philosophy something like this: (1) War is evil and un-Christian, (2) Pacifists and Christians do not cooperate with war and might do well

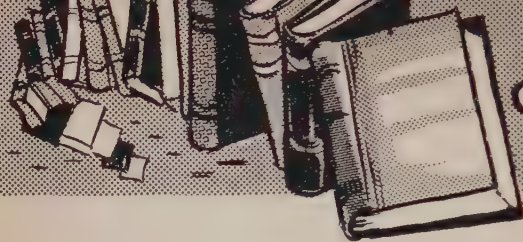
to refuse to pay taxes for such purposes, (3) If we all become better people, better Christians, and possibly better pacifists as well, we thereby correct the world's ills.

There are pacifists who believe propositions #1 and #2 but who firmly believe as well, that all the "good" people, Christians and pacifists, in the world will never by so being effect an appreciably better society unless we eliminate economic injustices. This goal cannot be attained by *taxation* used to ameliorate poor living conditions, *taxation* used for public housing or public health, *taxation* used for schemes like social security and unemployment insurance, or *taxation* used to aid impoverished or backward nations. All these tax-supported schemes attempt to right the wrongs, but they all start right in the middle of our problems.

The basic injustice remains monopolization of land. . . . We believe that we are sojourners here on earth and since the supply of land is limited, we who "own" or use the land should pay society (in ground rent) for the use of this land. Ground or "economic" rent of land is a purely social value, created by man's desire to use the land, for land has absolutely no value until man appears on the scene.

We believers in the philosophy of Henry George visualize a day when the collection of ground rents will supplant our current burdensome taxation schemes, all of which take private property for public use, deter production, and destroy incentive as they penalize the productive worker. We do need to work on individual self-improvement, but what about the economic ills? Will being better people automatically right these? As the late John Dewey said: "I do not claim that George's remedy is a panacea that will cure by itself all our ailments, but I do claim that we cannot get rid of our basic troubles without it."

THE DAVID J. MILLERS
Prescott, Arizona



Missing: A "Feel"

Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary, by Haridas T. Muzumdar. Scribners, Twentieth Century Library, 1953. 127 pp., \$2.50.

No single personality, social philosophy or revolutionary program of recent centuries is more significant for the pacifist than that of Gandhi.

Recognizing Gandhi as "the prophetic voice of the twentieth century," Dr. Muzumdar inquires why so many men and women have been deeply moved by him. It is, the author tells us, because "in him we can see an image of our higher self," and somehow realize that we see in him what we could become.

Nonviolence is presented as a most active force. There is a helpful presentation of some of the social factors which may have influenced Gandhi during his early years. Gandhi was essentially an experimenter, determining the truth in the light of his own conscience.

One of Gandhi's greatest contributions was to combine the influence of moral power and love with strategy and techniques which multiplied the effect—creating a moral equivalent of war. This was accompanied by the constructive program to build a new social order and by the individual's spiritual growth. In service and alleviation of suffering and oppression Gandhi found his way to God.

Despite Dr. Muzumdar's admiration for Gandhi, this volume has some rather severe limitations. He fails to understand the growing nature of Gandhi's thinking, insight and maturity; and is apparently completely unfamiliar with Gandhi's thought during his later years. Despite frequent early quotations, there is included only one made since 1937 and none since 1940. This is serious in light of the significance of Gandhi's later thought, especially that of his last two years.

The author does not seem to have a "feel" for Gandhi. Also he cannot confine himself to a presentation of Gandhi's thinking without unwarrantedly inserting his own ideas and positions. Another problem is his tendency to try to make Gandhi "practical," respectable non-revolutionary—which is tragic compromise.

Gandhi did not sanction the use of troops in Kashmir. The assertion that Gandhi's democracy would not be "genuine democracy as we understand it," but rather a type "more like Plato's Republic," is a basic misinterpretation, not taking into account Gandhi's late thought in which he insisted on *Poorna Swaraj*—complete self-determination and self-rule by the masses.

It is in his discussion of the application of Gandhi's basic approach to the State and to war that the

book is most seriously questionable. The author incompletely quotes a statement Gandhi made to show how wrong cowardice was, and instead shows that violence is acceptable. He proceeds from there to making it appear that Gandhi would not lead or encourage civil resistance to an Indian government, nor object to Indian armaments, and that he found that his vision of a free India within the bounds of practical politics was realized on August 15, 1947." All three are in basic contradiction to the facts.

If the legislature did not safeguard the peasants' interests, Gandhi said, "they will of course have the sovereign remedy of civil disobedience and non-cooperation," including non-violent land seizure. In an armed India, he asserted, there could be "the greatest menace to world peace"; "democracy and dependence on the military and the police are incompatible." Gandhi urged no army for India; if asked for a free Indian government to do research for war purposes and on the atom bomb, scientists "should resist such a State unto death." Gandhi found "no place" for himself in the emerging India. The facts stabbed his heart. He refused to take part in independence celebrations or in the government.

Dr. Muzumdar advocates, subtly intimating that this is not an un-Gandhian approach, that in facing totalitarian communist dictatorship," while using other methods also, "... we must strive to build up the armed might of America and of the free world. Preparedness on our part may obviate Soviet aggression; and in the event of Soviet aggression, it would help us achieve victory for the democratic cause." (See p. 110) Gandhi, in contrast, calls for a

basic spiritual and social revolution: "There is no escape for the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and violence can go ill together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously non-violent."

—GENE SHARP

To the Editor: Let us take up some of the points raised by the reviewer:

(1) "Gandhi did not sanction the use of troops in Kashmir," says the reviewer. I said, "The Government of India had (sent troops to Kashmir) with his concurrence if not with his blessing." (p. 102) There are ample references in Gandhi's utterances to back up my statement. It may also be noted that Gandhi did not go on a fast against the Government of India when it dispatched troops to Kashmir, though he did go on a fast in the same period against the Government of India when the latter hesitated to make the stipulated payment to the Government of Pakistan.

(2) I do know the meaning of the term Poorna Swaraj, first used by Gandhi in 1929: full and complete self-government. Any term is capable of varied interpretations. The communist Russians use the term "people's democracy," but their use of the term does not convert a totalitarian dictatorship into a democracy. Gandhi's democracy, I repeat, is more like Plato's Republic, even though he believed in adult suffrage.

(3) "He incompletely quotes a statement Gandhi made to show

how wrong cowardice was, to show instead that violence was acceptable," says the reviewer. I have described the three types of human beings and the three types of responses, according to Gandhi: (1) the cowardly, who submit to injustice and evil in order to save their skins; (2) the brave, who are willing to die and kill in order to uphold their cherished values; (3) the superior, who in the fullness of their strength forgive the wrong-doer and redeem him by non-violence and love. This three-fold classification is pointed out in the Preface and again in the concluding chapter; and I made a point of emphasizing that Gandhi belonged to the third category.

(4) Furthermore, in saying that "Gandhi urged no army for India," the reviewer takes out of context a stray statement of Gandhi's and conveniently overlooks the preliminary or subsequent statements. The reviewer bemoans that I did not quote Gandhi's thinking in the last two years of his life. Here it is, unabridged, from Harijan, July 27, 1947, under the title, "The Division of the Army":

Gandhiji referred with intense feeling to the division of the army (between India and Pakistan). He could not understand why they could not remain united for the object of facing foreign aggression. The present mode of division might even lead to internal warfare between the two armies who might look upon themselves as rivals. That would be a tragedy too deep for tears. As a matter of fact, division of the army was a factor which would weaken the defense forces. It was up to them to ponder deeply over this. He hoped that even if they had not learned the

lesson of ahimsa during the last thirty years, they had at any rate learned not to live as slave of anyone—not of the British only. If they had, what need of armies anywhere? This was the lesson he was trying to teach the Hindus in Noakhali and the Muslims in Bihar. If they had the personal courage, he would not mind if they resisted oppression violently. Naturally, he would always plead for non-violent resistance, because the latter meant that God was their sole Protector. Violent resistance invariably meant the aid of the sword which was at best a poor weapon of defense.

The reviewer is entitled to his view that I do not have a "feel" for Gandhi; but he is utterly wrong when he says that I have tried to "make Gandhi 'practical,' respectable, non-revolutionary." Let the reader judge the matter for himself by reading the book.

—Haridas T. Muzumdar
Cornell College

Pro and Con McCarthy

McCarthy: the Man, the Senator and the Ism, by Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May. Beacon Press, Boston, 1952. 431 pp., \$3.75.

McCarthy, a Documented Record (the April 1954 issue of *The Progressive* magazine). 92 pp., 75c.

McCarthy and His Enemies, by William F. Buckley, Jr., and L. Brent Bozell. Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1954. 413 pp., \$5.

The junior Senator from Wisconsin is a social and political phenomenon whose ability to command wide support among con-

temporary Americans is a significant comment on the spirit of our times. Readers of *FELLOWSHIP* presumably are pretty much agreed that he is a phenomenon to be deplored, and that the totalitarianism of the right that he represents probably is far more of an internal danger to our country than the totalitarianism of the left he professes to fight.

The Senator's most effective device for escaping the consequences of his many rash and intemperate charges has been the quick switch to another, equally intemperate accusation against someone else, leaving his opponents floundering and uncertainly, not sure whether to try to haul him back to the abandoned battleground or follow him to the new. The Anderson-May book and the April issue of *The Progressive* are the best available sources known to this reviewer for the facts with which to trace McCarthy's trail back through the maze of truths, half-truths and outright falsehoods with which it is studded. Both are polemic, of course, written by men who are angry and disturbed at the power and influence of McCarthyism, and who make no pretense of having prepared an objective sociological study of their subject. At points they suffer from the usual ills of this kind of writing, though the overall impression is one of careful and accurate documentation.

The Buckley-Bozell book is a reverse of another color, affecting to be a more dispassionate and orderly account" based on "the record." McCarthy's enemies, says the jacket blurb, to "remain . . . in good standing [must] read and disprove this book." This claim apparently is based on the fact that the Messrs. Buckley and Bozell do acknowledge many of the Wisconsin

legislator's misdeeds, a fact which seems to them to make the book "objective" by presenting "both sides."

Actually, the principal value of *McCarthy and His Enemies* is as a case study of the way in which a couple of skilful writers can erect a superficial structure of honesty by a thoroughly unscrupulous interpretation of the evidence they present. To the reader concerned about adherence to the whole truth, as distinguished from literal truth, the book provides as infuriating a reading experience as can be imagined.

The temptation to cite examples is almost overpowering, but if yielded to would result in another book. Two will have to suffice. The first is the six-hour Senate debate of February 20, 1950, following McCarthy's assertions that he "held in his hand" lists of 205 (or 57) Communists in the State Department. (The authors acknowledge that McCarthy actually had no such list and "hence should not have phrased it in the way he did," but explain that "perhaps [he] deliberately sensationalized the evidence he possessed in order to draw attention to the gravity of the situation.")

McCarthy's attempts to "state his case" in this Senate session, say the authors, were made "all but impossible" by the interruptions of the other Senators. Senator Lucas, they explain, "interrupted no less than 61 times," and Senators McMahon, Withers and Lehman 27, 22 and 13 times respectively. It may be literal truth that they did interrupt that many times, but the implication is wholly false. A reading of the *Congressional Record* for that day reveals the interruptions clearly as repeated attempts to pin down an adept and unscrupulous

man who used every device in the book to evade the questions he had undertaken to answer.

Similarly with the "investigation" by McCarthy of editor James Wechsler of the *New York Post*. Wechsler, at one time a member of the Young Communists League, has been an articulate opponent of both Communism and McCarthyism for years. One of the most outrageous examples of the McCarthy method was the Senator's attempt to "explain" Wechsler's vehement anti-Communism as a device of the Communist party to "pull the wool over our eyes." Of this cute trick the authors confide that "he may have gone too far" but that it was quite reasonable to apply "a different standard" to Wechsler than that applicable to "persons innocent of involvement in the Communist conspiracy."

The book reeks with this kind of disingenuous interpretation. Readers with time will find it interesting to make some case-by-case comparisons among the three publications and with such official documents as the *Congressional Record*.

—A. H.

REVIEWS

Gene Sharp considers himself both a student and a disciple of Gandhi. He wrote his Master's thesis on the subject of nonviolence (Ohio State Univ., Sociology).

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 905 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.; *Southwest:* Wilson Riles, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Calif.; *New England:* Richard Hathaway, 9 Park Street, Boston, Mass.; *New York:* 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N. Y.; *Middle Atlantic:* Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street; *Great Lakes:* Glenn Smiley, 10010 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 6, Ohio.

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